

THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Colonial Coin Collectors Club

New Jersey u Reverse



Spring, 1998

Volume 6 Number 1

The C4 Newsletter Volume 6 Number 1
A quarterly publication of
The Colonial Coin Collectors Club, Inc.

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Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to Angel Pietri at the address listed above. Dues are \$20-regular, \$10 for junior members (under 18), \$25-1st class mailing of newsletter, \$400 for Life Membership (or 4 quarterly payments of \$100).



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Angel Pietri, Russell Easterbrooks, Tom Madigan

Articles, letters for publication, and ads should be sent to either Angel Pietri, Russell Easterbrooks

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or to your Regional Vice President.

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	1 issue	2 issues	3 issues	Copy size
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If you want to include a photo with your ad at an additional \$10. Black and white photo needed, size can be adjusted to fit. Please send check with your ad. We can accept camera ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 13 lines.



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Editor's Notes

Angel Pietri

Welcome to one more issue of the C4 newsletter.

This time, I will let the newsletter speak for itself. I hope you all enjoy it. I will limit my comments to two club issues, dues and elections.

Dues

About 45 of you did notice my mention of the 1998 dues on the last issue and sent in your renewal check. Let me remind the others that

dues are due now. Check your label. If it reads LM, 98 or higher after your name, you are all set. However, if it reads 97, your dues are unpaid. Please fill out the enclosed form and mail in your check payable to C4.

Elections for 1998-2000 Board

There were very few nominations submitted for the different officers. I guess either the current officers did a great job, or nobody cares. In any event, most of the current officers agreed to continue at their post except for two who are giving way to two new nominees. Our thanks go to Dave Palmer and Ken Mote for their contributions during the last two years.

Candidates for office

The following are the candidates to fill the slots for the next two years. Thanks are due to them also for agreeing to serve.

President: Dennis Wierzba

Regional vice-presidents:

Region 1: Jim Skalbe

Region 2: Ray Williams

Region 3: Stan Stephens

Region 4: Dan Freidus

Region 5: Mary Sauvain

Region 6: Jim Goudge

Region 7: Rob Retz

Secretary: John Lorenzo

Treasurer: Angel Pietri

As you can see, all are running unopposed, so I guess they cannot lose. If you care to submit your vote, send it to John Lorenzo, the current and still to be secretary.

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Thank you all for your contributions to the club!



Message from the President

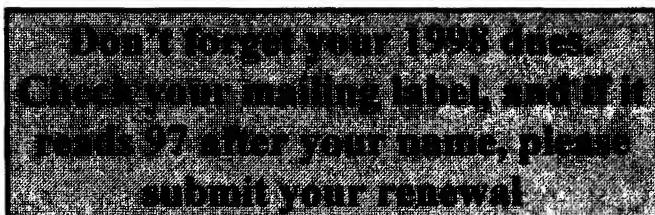
by Dennis Wierzba

The book is done and at the publishers? Of course, I am referring to the "The Copper Coins of Vermont" by Tony Carlotto. This work represents over 10 years of effort on Tony's behalf. It is the first of hopefully many books published by C4. It has been a great learning experience for us. I would like to thank Tony, Jim Rosen and Dan Freidus for being part of the "book project" team. Since Tony has generously donated the rights to the book to C4, all profits will go the C4 treasury to support further educational and publishing efforts.

The book will be available for the first time anywhere at EAC in Boston, April 2-5, 1998. Tony will sign copies at the C4 table. Any colonial book authors (such as MR, RR or JG) needing help to finish their opus, please call me.

Once again, there is a colonial happening at EAC. Please see the notice with details elsewhere in this issue. See you in Boston.

PS: Please consider consigning some colonials to the M+G auction at our C4 convention, November 20-22, 1998. The supply of nice colonials is thin and quality coins bring strong



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AND
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C4 Convention Items for Sale

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Add \$1 postage and handling for Medals and \$3 for catalogues. All will be sent uninsured at buyer's risk. If you want insurance, add an appropriate amount. Please forward your check to Dennis, payable to C4, at the address below.

The Richard Picker Collection Lot Envelopes

As mentioned in a recent issue of this newsletter, Stack's has provided C4 with Picker's own customized envelopes from his collection sold in October, 1984. They are available from the club for \$5 each if you can show adequate proof that you own the coin. This \$5 donation is for the club's treasury, thanks to Stack's. All unsold envelopes will be returned to Stack's. If you own any of these coins and would like to own the envelope, contact me at the address below.

Dennis Wierzba

[REDACTED]

Third Annual C4 Convention Hardbound catalogues:

Hardbound catalogues of this year's Convention sale will be made available but only to those people who order now!! If you want a copy ordered for you, let Dennis know soon.



1998 COLONIAL HAPPENING

by Dennis and Michael Wierzba

Once *again*, it is time to bring the colonials out of the safety deposit box and display them at EAC.

For NJ, any J reverse. The J reverse is a biennial die (with a 30mm diameter!) used with 10 obverses. An analysis was published by Michael Hodder in the American Journal of Numismatics in 1989. If you can, reread this article prior to EAC for emission sequence information.

For CT, 1787 M.1.1-A (small head), 1787 M.4-L (horned bust) and 1788 M.2-D. Each of these CTs is common with a die emission sequence to demonstrate, especially the 4-L.

For VT, varieties with bisecting or nearly bisecting die cracks such as RR12, RR13, RR18, RR26, RR28, RR29, RR33 and perhaps others. The Copper Coins of Vermont by Tony Carlotto will be available for sale at the C4 table for the first time anywhere. Tony will be available to autograph your copy.

Please join us on Thursday night, April 2. If you can help behind the tables, please call us at [REDACTED].



Northwest Region Meeting Notice

There will be a C4 meeting at the West Coast Expo (Seattle, Washington, April 17-19). The meeting will take place at 3:00 PM on Saturday April 18th. Bring something to share with all.

For further information call Bill McKivor at [REDACTED].



Letters to the Editor

The Rhode Island Ship Token Revisited

I have to reply to Mr. David Kass' comments about the Rhode Island Ship Token, because I suspect my articles in CNL on the subject may not have been clear to all readers. The Rhode Island Ship Token may look simple at first glance, but when you start to study it you soon find out how complicated it really is.

The token was not struck in Holland for several reasons, one being the fact that the Dutch could not refine zinc pure enough in 1779 to have made the tokens. Since only one or two small English firms could, an English origin for the tokens is necessary.

If the tokens were made in England, then why were they given legends that are written in the Dutch language (and perfectly good Dutch, too)? Ordinary Englishmen then, as now, couldn't read Dutch. The answer is simple. It's because the tokens were made in England for a Dutch speaking audience. In other words, the tokens were propaganda pieces, designed to show the Dutch that England was winning the war against America.

If the tokens were made in England as I think, why would the die sinker put the Dutch word "vlugtende" (meaning "running away") underneath the English admiral Howe's ship, especially when the ship is obviously quietly at anchor? I think it's pretty obvious what happened. The obverse die was accidentally engraved with "vlugtende", a word which was really meant to be on the reverse, where the American soldiers are actually shown "running away".

The engraving mistake was caught right away, judging from the rarity of the pieces that were struck with that word still readable on the obverse. At first, the token makers tried to correct the error by physically scraping the word "vlugtende" right off the tokens, after they were struck. This must have been both costly and time-consuming, so another solution was found. An ornamental device,

the Red Book's misnamed "wreath", was punched into the die over the word "vlugtende", mostly obliterating it.

I hope that this explanation is easier to understand. Incidentally, those who think the Rhode Island Ship Token is fascinating and historically important might want to get a copy of C. Wyllis Betts' book entitled "American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals". There are lots of reprints of this 1894 book, the best introduction to what is, to most, an entirely new realm of numismatic collecting in the colonial field.

Yours,
Michael Hodder

Editor's note: Readers may wish to ask themselves why the British would want a propaganda piece aimed at the Dutch. Adding my two bits, it bears mentioning that the Dutch were the leading world's bankers at the time. Most of the loans obtained by the rebellious colonies originated from the Dutch. Some, but not all, were guaranteed by the French. Was a British engraver trying to tell the Dutch they were throwing money away?

A New Variety? Not Quite, but a Learning Experience

Recently at a coin auction there were some colonial coins advertised in the sale bill. Mostly out of curiosity, I went to this auction to see what was offered for bidding. There were some nice Fugios, some New Jerseys, a Massachusetts group, one Vermont, a few Connecticuts, and other Colonial related coinage.

I arrived at the auction as early as possible for viewing the lots. I took along my trusty attributing catalogs. Yes, I attribute the coins right at the tables! Would be nice to have a photographic memory and leave the catalogs at home. Anyway, everything was going well until I checked one of the Connecticut lots- it was a 1786 variety that did not seem to be listed in my catalog or reference book- interesting to say the least.

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I checked the rest of the colonial coins- nothing rare, but some nice planchets and grades.

The auction hammer was still two hours away so I left to have some lunch. I returned and waited to bid on the colonials.

The nice R-16 Vermont went too high- I was the underbidder. Then it was time for the Connecticut lots. My heart was racing as I bid on the 'nice' one- the Connecticut that 'was not in my reference'. I bid more than I had planned, but I wanted to take the coin home with me. The 'hammer' fell and it was 'mine'. I bought two other colonials, paid my fees, and went home.

Now it was time for more research. I checked all of the reference catalogs and books in my small library. I could not find this peculiar looking coin anywhere.

The obverse looked very similar to the 5.4 obverse for 1786 Connecticuts but also quite different from this obverse- I thought. If you examine the accompanying photo, you will see a dot between the Bust and 'AUCTORI'. You will see 3 dots after the 'C' in "CONNEC". You will notice the distance between the lettering and the milling. There is doubling on both sides of the coin- a double strike, I guess. Can this doubling explain the extra dot? The three dots after 'C'? If these features are from the doubling, why are there not more variant features? Why not four dots from doubling after the 'C' instead of the three that are seen?

I was wondering if this piece might have been a new variety ('wishful thinking'). On first viewing I was almost certain this copper was a new variety. Now I know that it is not new- just 'different'. The Connecticut in question has been seen 'in person' or by excellent photos by a few of the professionals in early coinage. The verdict is in- the Connecticut variety is most definitely a 5.4-G variety that has been struck at least twice to create devices not seen on any other 5.4-G varieties. These new features (the extra dots) are remnants of the double striking.



George Seifrit's Conn. M 5.4-G

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The one thing that I cannot understand though, is the fact that the dot after the bust has a wider dimension than the original finial of the first-strike 'A' finial. For those of you who do not know what a 'finial' is (I was one of you)- it is the ornamental termination of a pinnacle- the 'A's foot. Is it possible for more metal to be added to the first finial from the second strike?

By the way I must thank Mark Borckardt, senior numismatist at Bowers and Merena for taking his time to view this coin, and also thanks to Mike Hodder for his comments regarding this Connecticut.

In the process of learning about this particular coin, I have acquired some knowledge of coinage and have purchased a used stereo microscope (at an auction, of course!) for better viewing.

George Seifrit

More on Vlack 14-84A

I agree with Dennis Wierzba that Vlack 14-84A is a truly fascinating contemporary counterfeit halfpence. I welcome and appreciate the opportunity to debate the issue of its origin and provenance with our President, within the pages of The C4 Newsletter. Perhaps this debate may have more to do with logic and reasoning, more so than a preponderance of evidence.

There is no doubt that many varieties of crudely designed counterfeit halfpence circulated both here in America as well as in England, around the same time. Proof as to their true origin cannot, today, be established with any certainty, including identification with the country in which they may now reside. I believe that this point was adequately addressed in my previous letter, and, Mr. Wierzba has agreed that V14-84A has been found in both old American collections as well as old English collections.

To maintain a sense of objectivity, my own studies of contemporary counterfeit halfpence suggests that many old notions and assumptions must be thrown out. In all good conscience, I could

not allow my own postulations to be presented as fact without any solid evidence that would support them as such. In as far as this may concern Newman's postulations about V14-84A, I agree with Mr. Wierzba that his assertions of a possible origin and provenance were not presented as fact. Despite contemporaneously published rumor, and the circulation of counterfeit halfpence in the port city of Boston, there is no solid evidence within this to support Newman's postulation as fact.

Likewise, neither would I allow the postulations of others to become somehow magically transformed into evidence, in my own mind. Although a concerted effort by John Kleeburg, I believe that Mr. Wierzba has given far too much credence to the archaeological evidence" which, in itself, is incomplete at best, and is obviously open to interpretation - now three, Kleeburg's, Wierzba's and Weston's. Regardless of whether or not V14-84A may be a part of the Beach-Grunthal hoard, there is no solid evidence to support its origin as somewhere near Montclair, New Jersey. This is a bold assertion for a(R-6) variety that has not (yet) been linked to any other counterfeit(s). Although numismatics has certainly not always been an exact science, it should nonetheless strive to be.

I believe that I had also demonstrated sufficient reasoning as to why I could not support John Kleeburg's evidence and conclusion concerning V14-84A. Its origins in America could easily have begun disguised in a keg of hardware stowed aboard a British frigate docked in some American port. Regardless of where any example may have since turned up, this postulation is as viable as any other. If this is so, then further discussion of Kleeburg's work is not necessary.

The first thing that I had noticed about V14-84A was that while the design is crude, and the date is hand cut, the punch style of the letters is very distinct. Although I personally find certain design elements, as well as the roller striations found on some examples to be reminiscent of some English counterfeits, I believe that it is this letter punch style that is our only real clue as to its provenance. As of yet, neither I nor anyone else have been able to match this style

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with that of any other counterfeit, but that does not mean that I will stop looking. Despite my own gut feeling, and "conventional wisdom" aside, Vlack 14-84A can only be considered an Anonymous counterfeit. To assign it an origin, and/or provenance, would be purely whimsical. Perhaps, if it had been overlooked by Vlack and nothing more had since been written about it, it now could be seen in a different light.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Wierzba on his recent acquisition of the 4th known example of the so called "Baby Head" Anonymous counterfeit halfpence, which was announced in The Colonial Newsletter. I find it personally gratifying that these counterfeits finally seem to be getting the attention that they have long deserved. Obviously, Mr. Wierzba's enthusiasm for counterfeit halfpence equals mine. At the very least, it is hoped that we can agree to disagree.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Byron K. Weston



Miscellaneous Ramblings - The C4 Convention

by Tom Madigan

Personally, I was delighted to hear that this year's convention would be held in Boston, as I had lived there in 1974-75 and had remembered it as a beautiful city and had always wanted to go back for a visit. Specifically, I wanted to go to the Half Shell, one of the two best restaurants in Boston, and have Lobster Bisque, an absolutely delicious concoction. Then when I heard about the IRS raiding the MANA Convention, I was even more glad we had decided to convene in Boston.

So, in early October, I bought my ticket and eagerly awaited the arrival of the M & G catalog, to see what I might be able to add to

my collection. It finally arrived and I marked a few Mass coppers, a couple of Vermonts, and five New Jerseys that I would check out very carefully once I got there.

Suddenly it was November 5th and I spent most of the night getting my coins and camera equipment and stuff packed. Hardly able to sleep anyway, I was up at 6:00 to catch a 7:40 AM flight on American Airlines, straight through. My ticket from Miami cost \$227 round trip. The guy next to me paid \$1,200 for the same ticket. He was annoyed I had paid so little. If you guys need to travel someplace, you might call my wife's travel agent, Ecuatours at [REDACTED]. Ask for Omarys or Pam. Anyway, we got to Boston before lunch and the view of the city as we came in over the water to land was really beautiful! Gosh! I wish I'd had my camera on hand. I will next April!! Bus to the hotel - Ray Williams, whom I was rooming with that night, hadn't checked in yet so I dropped off my bag and went to tour the city. The weather was gorgeous, which is fortunate cause it turned cold and windy that night and it rained non stop thereafter. The city center hadn't changed much in 22 years. Its a charming old city, but I couldn't find the Half Shell nor anybody who remembered exactly where it had been. Ah well! Back to the hotel and Ray had arrived. I went up to his room and settled in, showing him my new acquisitions, some of which are rather impressive. He was duly impressed. At 8:00PM we went up to the hospitality room on the 24th floor to mingle with old friends and new members, and swap stories about coins and coin people. We also saw flames shooting out of the roof of a building some 10 blocks away! The fire dept. soon had it under control, so no panic. The room soon was crowded but there was plenty of beer and booze and salmon and so forth. Then off to bed. Not that I slept much.

Up bright and early the next morning, though it wasn't really necessary as the bourse floor didn't open to the public till 10:30AM. So after a leisurely breakfast I marched in and began to see what was available. There was a lot to see, of course, but I spotted a few coins that would be welcome additions to my collection. It would depend on what happened in the auction. If the prices of what I wanted were beyond my price ceiling, I didn't want to go home empty-handed.

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But, in order to buy anything, first I had to sell some duplicates. I wasn't having much luck.

I then went to do my shift at the lot viewing table, which I very much enjoy doing as it can be so educational; sometimes the person you are handing boxes to is a friend who knows what you specialize in, and will ask your opinion about a certain lot, or will mention something he's observed, or whatever. At one point, I had Bill Anton, John Lorenzo, Roger Siboni, Roger Moore and Ray Williams all sitting together in front of me, checking out and discussing the New Jersey lots, among other things. Woof! That's the majority of the NJ specialists gathered at one table, with Buell Ish and me listening in. Definitely one of the highlights of the convention! My Maris 27-j, which I had with me, was brought out and passed around too. It received a lot of admiration, with Bill telling me that the finest, the Oechsner coin, has digs and nicks on both sides whereas mine doesn't.

They all wandered off and eventually I did too. Then a bite to eat and I moved my stuff from Ray's room to John Lorenzo's room. Roger Moore was supposed to share with Ray, and John had an empty bed (I hadn't booked my own room). Then off at 5:00PM to the NJ Symposium, in which Ray spoke about the Spiro Collection Sale, Dr. Roger Moore spoke about Dr. Edward Maris, and I spoke very briefly about my progress in gathering data on New Jersey die states. Ray also handed out sets of John Griffee's C.C. listings with all the corrections and updates as they have appeared in Penny-Wise (which must have taken him a hell of a lot of time). Then John spoke about his progress in classifying the St. Patrick's farthings, which will eventually see print. Dennis Wierzba sold off the remaining copies of Roger Siboni's transcription of the First New Jersey Symposium. Unfortunately, I didn't get one.

Next came the Machin's Mills Symposium, hosted by Dick August and Ed Sarrafian. Dick did all the talking . Actually he had prepared a paper, copies of which he generously passed out to those present, and he then read it to us. Fascinating. It included a rarity rating,

condition census, and price guide, which was to come in very handy for me the next day.

The Vermont crew was up next with Tony Carlotto handing out his updated "Vermont Rarity/Extant Chart and Emission Sequence", and Jim Rosen giving a most interesting talk on the probable causes for the dots on some of the Ryder-16's. Looks like plain old die damage to me.

This was followed by Jim Skalbe's presentation on Mass. Silver, a series I know very little about. There was one fellow in the audience that did know a lot about them and voiced his disagreements with some of Jim's opinions, which made the whole thing rather lively for the rest of us and all the more interesting! Jim did not seem to enjoy it too much, though.

This was followed by the Mass copper team of Mike Packard and Tom Rinaldo, two fine people who know more about this series than everybody else combined. Mike handed out copies of his attribution guide for the 1787 Cents and showed slides of different varieties and taught us what to look for. This is an under-collected series but that will soon change.

It was by now 10:30PM and I was losing the ability to concentrate as I was pretty tired. John was feeling the same so we left, missing out on Jim Goudge's talk on Connecticut coppers. Knowing Jim, I'm sure it was a good presentation - the man has 800 of these coppers and I've been blown away by the few I've already seen. John and I got a bite to eat which revived us, and then he looked at my collection of New Jerseys. As a result, there will be a few minor changes to his NJ Condition Census. How nice. We also discussed the English Evasion coppers series and he showed me the available literature on these, which he had brought. I had one, probably uncirculated on a deeply fissured planchet, which he really liked so I gave it to him.

I then proceeded to reread the auction catalog. Couldn't sleep....

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Saturday morning and we are up too late to attend the C4 General Meeting. Whoops. Hit the bourse floor but only managed to sell three half cents. Not good, so I decided to sell my five Machin's Mills. Not terribly thrilled with this idea, I nevertheless went back to the room and used Dick August's handout to figure what I should ask. Once I figured that \$1,500 wasn't too unreasonable, I cheered up and started showing them around. If I sold them, I could buy some decent coppers in the auction! I eventually got a firm offer from Tony Carlotto and a strong reach from someone else at a slightly higher figure. But not a firm commitment. I also had a possible buyer for my duplicate 1788 Mass Ryder 11-C (rarity 5) in choice VG. Things were looking up! Suddenly it was 6:00PM and time to get something to eat, so a few of us gathered in the bar downstairs for some draft Harp and munchies. Then, we were off to THE AUCTION.

What can I say about the auction? A large number of lots went to the book or did not meet their reserves. This made for a fast auction. The Vermont baby heads were cheap! There seemed little interest in the Vermonts, though there were some very nice ones. There was a lot of interest in the Machin's Mills pieces, of course, and the major consignor was very happy after they were sold. There was considerable interest in the Mass coppers, not too surprisingly. The ones I was interested in went for more than I was willing to pay. Then the New Jerseys, where the opening bids on the ones I wanted exceeded what I had written down as my top bids. I ended up with nothing. By midnight Saturday I had yet to buy a coin or photograph a coin! A crisis brewing...

So after the auction, John Lorenzo, the Ishes, the Wierbas, Ray Williams, Roger Moore and I got together for coffee and pie in the restaurant and discussed the auction. Then Roger and Ray and Buell and his wife came up to our room where I set up me camera and proceeded to shoot some AWESOME NJ's that these guys own. Man! Nice Condition Census copper. I reciprocated by passing around my nicer pieces. Well, at least I got to take some photographs.

I then worked out my options for the next attack on the bourse. Still awake at 4:00 AM.

Sunday. Pack and check out. Store my bag. Breakfast. Sell all my Machin's to Tony Carlotto. Buy a VF 35 1787 Mass Cent from Ralph Pfau. Buy two NJ's from Steve Hayden, a somewhat corroded M.39-a and a very nice 28-L. Trade my Mass Cent to David Palmer for a granular M.6-C and an M.56-n in choice VF25, and a little cash. Give Tom Reynolds my 1787 large cent with misaligned dies for inclusion in the E.A.C. Convention auction. Buy a choice copy of the Spiro Collection sale from Charlie Davis. And I'm done.

Off to the airport for an uneventful flight home. Its still raining outside.

Finally, I get some sleep.

Some thoughts:

- 1) The M.A.N.A. bourse in 1995 was very big with lots of dealers and a vast selection of everything. The Bay State Coin Show at Boston had a much smaller number of dealers and less stuff to pick through. The Raddison was expensive.
- 2) Boston is a much nicer city than Pennsauken. Boston is a much nicer city than practically everywhere else, in my own personal opinion.
- 3) I heard that the 1998 C4 Convention will be in Boston again. I also heard that the M.A.N.A. Convention will not be held within the New Jersey State boundaries again.
- 4) I think that our directors should pay close attention to where the 1998 M.A.N.A. Convention is held and see if we can hold our convention in conjunction with theirs in 1999.
- 5) The new A.N.S. building may have convention facilities or space for a bourse. Is this a potential site?
- 6) At one point during the New Jersey Symposium, Ray Williams asked for a show of hands to see who present was also a member of E.A.C. Everyone raised their hands. If it is true that all, or most, C4 members also belong to E.A.C., what is the possibility of having our annual conventions together? All the dealers who go to the C4

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Convention also go to E.A.C.. They would save them the added expense. Those of us who are not rolling in \$\$\$\$\$ would only have to save up for one convention, not two. Those who may only be able to take time off for one trip per year would not have to decide between two conventions at different times of the year. There would just be one to go to. The main hitch to this idea is how do you hold two separate auctions on Saturday night? You can't, of course, so one would have to go from 5:00 to 8:30PM, and the other would have to follow immediately after.

Any comments from the readership?

Tom Madigan
[REDACTED]

AOP's Note: A lot of these points have been evaluated by the Board. Boston was the preferred site of the majority of dealers and members polled. MANA dropped their Sunday bourse, and this presented a major logistic problem for us, particularly in regards to the auction. Will this change in the future? We'll see. As to EAC, though most attendees were EAC members, a sizable number of our members are not EAC members. We did try to discuss joint activities with EAC in the past. They showed zero interest. All that EAC has given colonial folks at their conventions is the colonial happening, and only after C4 was formed. However, that is their prerogative. And it is the main reason why C4 was formed. It would be difficult in a joint convention not only for the colonial auction, but to have a room dedicated to all the activities we have had during our conventions so far. The ANS building? Definitely sounds interesting, though New York City is not a cheap place either. As Tom says, any comments from the readership?



Another 33.29-Z.25 Connecticut Found

by Roger Moore

A recent purchase of a group of Connecticut coppers provided me many hours of pleasure attempting to attribute them according to Miller number. However, one had me pretty well stumped when I used my usual reference, the Bowers and Merena auction catalog of the Taylor collection from March 1987. It was only after comparing my coin with the plates in the Pine Tree auction catalog from February 15, 1975, lot # 257, that a tentative attribution of the 33.29-Z.25 was made. Luckily, the C-4 convention in Boston was only a week away, and confirmation of the attribution from the experts in Connecticut coppers was forthcoming.

The Connecticut 33.29-Z.25 was first described in an article appearing in the July 1961 Colonial Newsletter (sequential pages # 32-33) by Edward R. Barnsley. He described the discovery piece found by Cyril H. Hawley which had a new reverse die (the Z.25) not previously known to Miller. Only the new reverse was pictured in the Colonial Newsletter article and showed buckling of the die in the right field under the ETLIB, affecting the lower portions of these letters. The second specimen, which appeared in the 1975 Pine Tree auction, also had buckling of the reverse die under the ETLIB, as well as buckling of the left field "nearly obliterating branch". The latter coin came from the Norman Bryant collection and is now thought to reside in an important collection of Connecticut coppers on the West coast. Accessing the huge data base that is undergoing constant improvement and expansion (I am told it is now eight feet of information) under the direction of Bob Martin, I am also informed that a third coin of this variety may exist which was listed in the Spring 1982 catalog of Henry Garrett as a "very fine". The identity of this coin has not been confirmed and it's location is not known, but considering the source we can be pretty sure that this documents the third 33.29-Z.25. Therefore, the present coin makes the fourth one known and lowers it's rarity status to a rarity 7. As can be seen in the photograph of the present coin, some die bulge is noted in the right field of the reverse, but the lettering is not



New Connecticut M 33.29-Z.25

obliterated. This coin may therefore represent the earliest die state of the Z.25 reverse. It is evident that the Z.25 reverse underwent rapid destruction from the few examples that we have to evaluate.

I would appreciate it if anyone knowing the location of the other examples of this variety could please contact me. Thank you.

Roger Moore.

e-mail- 74163.1557@compuserve.com



***Thomas Machin, James Atlee and Abel Buell
presented at C4 Convention on November 7, 1997***

by Richard August and Ed Sarrafian

Captain Thomas Machin's mint, known as Machin's Mill, in Newburgh, New York was, in my opinion, the most interesting of all colonial mints. Coinage at this mint, or by people working for this mint, was inter-related to practically all the other state copper coinages, such as those of New York, Connecticut, Vermont, Massachusetts, and possibly even New Jersey coppers. It is also inter-related to the Fugios, imitation British Halfpennies, and possibly with the Nova Constellatio. To discuss the coinage at Machin's Mill one has to begin with James F. Atlee (and the New York City mint) and ultimately include Abel Buell and the New Haven mint. Some of what I say may still be controversial or not known for certain, but that, too, adds to the interesting mystery of Machin's Mill.

Before Machin started production at his mint, James F. Atlee was engraving dies for the two varieties of Non Vi Virtute Vici coppers struck at the New York City mint. Breen points out that the devices and inscriptions on these coins can be interpreted in two distinct ways. The bust could be that of Washington and the legend could be interpreted as "Not by violence, but by excellence have I conquered". The legend could also be interpreted as alluding to the coins themselves: Not by force (legal mandate), but by excellence (weight and quality of copper), have I overcome (public resistance to accept

the coppers in New York in 1786). These coins were struck at the regular Birmingham standard of 60 to the pound and probably handed out to VIPs as a sample of Atlee's fine work while working under Mould. The later interpretation turns out to be quite ironic, for while Atlee worked for Mould, the weight of the coins he struck was generally quite substantial. But when Atlee eventually worked for Machin, the weight of the coins then struck was quite less. It is interesting to note that Mould eventually had to flee to Ohio to avoid going to debtor's prison while Machin died a prosperous and revered man.

These Non Vi Virtute Vici coppers are punch linked to the 1786 bust right imitation Connecticut coppers (1-A, 2.1-A, 2.2-D.2, 2.1-D.3, 3-D.1, 3-D.4) and the 1786 Rahway mint New Jersey coppers, and therefore to Atlee. Hence, these imitation Connecticut coppers were probably struck in New York City by Atlee. It is interesting to note that the Non Vi Virtute Vici coppers have the saw tooth border similar to the border that Atlee gave to his imitation British halfpennies. Also, the more common variety of the Non Vi Virtute Vici coin has an obverse head style which is very simple like that of the Imitation British Halfpennies with Vlack obverses of 4 and 6, while the rarer of the two Non Vi Virtute Vici coppers has the obverse head style which shows much more detail and has the detail in the wreath which is more similar to that of obverses 2, 3, 7 and others that followed. Atlee went on to make the dies for the 1787 George Clinton with a 1787 Excelsior reverse die, which was a copy of Bailey's Excelsior copper, the 1787 Standing Indian and Eagle on a demi-globe and the 1787 Standing Indian with the State Arms. These demonstrated Atlee's superior diemanship. These coins were probably the coins that Atlee had made for Machin as samples to help Machin get an affirmative vote on his petition to New York state to strike coins. The petition was referred to committee on March 3, 1787 but was rejected in a report as of March 5, 1787. And on April 18, 1787 the state of New York passed a bill to outlaw all coppers weighing under 1/3 of an ounce. As Breen points out, what is probably not a coincidence is that on that very day Machin and Atlee formed a partnership with 4 others to make "hardware", then a current euphemism for copper coins.

It is now my belief (and Breen's and Trudgen's) that the Class I Imitation British Halfpennies of 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775 and 1776 (except 9-76B) were struck by Mould and Atlee in New York city. Breen includes the 1-47A in this class, while Trudgen does not. They were probably struck before the New York law outlawing light weight coppers, and may very well have been the cause of the law. It appears, as Breen points out, that it was Mould with Atlee who first made Imitation British halfpennies in America in order to make a living. While these coins share the letter punches of Wyon's Nova Constellatio coppers, they are too crude to have been Wyon's work, and Wyon would never have made the error of leaving the British Union Jack on the reverse shield unfimbriated (no outlines to the eight lines on the shield). Also, the coins are regularly found in non-collector accumulations found in New England but not usually in England.

I would call the 1-47A George II Imitation British Halfpenny a transitional coin because it, along with all the other Group I Imitation British Halfpennies, has no berries in the obverse wreath while all the other Atlee Imitation British Halfpennies have berries in the wreath. Yet the reverse shield and seated figure is much more like the later Atlee halfpence than the Group I halfpence. Perhaps the obverse die was cut before April 18, 1787 in New York City, while the reverse die was cut later when Atlee was already removed to Newburgh, New York (Machin's Mill). I feel strongly that metallurgical tests may well give the final word on what was struck where. Next come all the other halfpence struck by Atlee. Breen says they were all struck at Newburgh, while Trudgen divides the latter group into two groups. Trudgen's next group includes all the 1787's with obverse 17 and the 1747 which he says were also struck in New York city, and Trudgen's last group is all the other Atlee halfpence struck in Newburgh. I happen to agree with Breen simply because all these later coins are very much stylistically the same. They all have berries in the obverse wreath and they all have shields that are alike. It is also possible, in my opinion, that because the busts of the Group I halfpence are so much more simple than those of the later more

stylish busts, that Mould or Bailey had a hand in their design, while Atlee had the sole hand in cutting all the later halfpence busts.

Of these later halfpence by Atlee there are some very significant pieces. First and foremost is the 9-76B with the 'Ceorcius' George III obverse and the 1776 small date reverse. In 1950 "an eighteenth century iron kettle containing 125 Connecticut coppers, 8 Vermont coppers, 3 Vermont Britannia Mules-Ryder 13, 1 Nova Eborac and 72 British and Irish eighteen century halfpence, imitation and counterfeit was found in Stepney, Connecticut. As Eric Newman pointed out, the 9-76B is a very significant coin because it links Newburgh, New York Imitation British Halfpence with Rupert, Vermont coins. The 9-76B is "first known coin on which the so called Vermont reverse device containing the British Union Jack in the shield is found with a consistent and proper legend Britannia". Newman points out that the reverse Britannia seated figure on the 9-76B is punch interlocked with Ryder 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, (37 and 38). He goes on to say that "the Oct. 24, 1786 Vermont law required coppers of a specific weight, quality, mottoes and designs and a £5000 compliance bond, but there was no technical obligation as to where dies, planchets or even coppers themselves had to be produced". Newman leads you right up to the conclusion but does not explicitly state it that these Vermont coins (along with Ryder 1, 13, 27 and 31) were all struck at Machin's Mill by Atlee. Vermont needed dies made, but Machin had Atlee working for him. So Machin made a deal. Machin would get a 60% share in the Vermont franchise while the Vermont group would get a 40% share in the profits of any other operation in Newburgh. A contract of June 7, 1787 set forth the agreement. So I believe Atlee made the reverse seated punch which was first used for coining the Vermonts and then used for coining 9-76B. This makes it unlikely that the reverse punch was sent to Rupert to coin Vermonts and then sent back to Newburgh to coin 9-76B.

Trudgen, following Newman, says that the obverse bust punch of the 9-76B is the same as that of Atlee's 2-71A, but I think this is

erroneous. Nevertheless, Newman's argument about the connection of 9-76B to Vermont coppers can still hold.

So I would divide all the Atlee halfpence plus mules into three groups, but three different groups than Trudgen:

Group I: Trudgen group minus 9-76B; all the 1771's, 1772's, 1774s, 1775, and the other 1776.

Group II: the 1747, all 1778, 1787 and 1788s and lastly the Ryder 13 Britannia mule on a large planchet like the other 87C's.

Group III: the discard group with 9-76B, 9-87NY, 15-85NY, 22-88VT, 13-87CT, 13-88CT, and also Ryder 1 and Ryder 39 at this time.

The third group was struck after July of 1788 when representatives of Machin's Mill bought out Walter Mould's equipment, allowing Mould to flee to Ohio to avoid debtor's prison. All of these coins are generally the lightest and crudest coins of the Machin's Mill mint.

This leaves only 5 unexplained dies. 16-86A, CT-86A, and 10-77A are clearly American but not Atlee's work. 10-77A looks like an American counterfeit of a Machins. I have in my collection a counterfeit George II halfpenny which appears to me to be a counterfeit of the 1-47A Machins. 14-84A and 24-72C are also American and the latter may well be a Machin's. All of these 5 coins have the unfimbriated British Union Jack.

A lot of people ask how you can tell a Machin's (which I have taken to be any of Atlee's Imitation British Halfpennies). The simplest answer is to obtain a Robert Vlack set of photographic plates of the imitation British halfpence made in America. The characteristics of Machins are:

1. sawtooth borders which occur on few other counterfeit British halfpennies.
2. small boxy lettering with Mould-Atlee punches (possibly some of Buell's).
3. the "1" in the date is not the English "J".

4. no berries in the obverse wreath in all Machins up to and including 1776 (most all British-made counterfeits generally have them). Also all genuine British halfpence having the early Machins dates of 1771, 1772, 1774 and 1775 have berries in the obverse wreath.
5. no other counterfeit halfpence have the Machins dates of 1778, 1787, and 1788 (to the best of my present knowledge).
6. the bust style of the 1771, 1772, 1774, 1775, 1776 is very simple with less detail than on most British counterfeit halfpence, while the bust style on all the later Atlee halfpence is more intricate than on genuine halfpence and most counterfeit halfpence. There are 7 distinct leaves on all Atlee obverse busts except for 11-78A and 1-47A which have 9.
7. the reverse shield has 8 solid bars (unfimbriated).
8. the planchets are generally smaller, thinner and lighter than most other counterfeits, except for the coins minted with the larger 87C reverse die which was muled with the Vermont obverse (Ryder 13).
9. the relief on Atlee's coins is usually much greater than that of the Evasions and most of the British counterfeits.

In September of 1788 representatives of Machin's Mill went to New Haven and bought out the Connecticut minting equipment and after April 1789 they also bought out Benjamin Buell's equipment. This led to many of the mailed bust 1787 and 1788 Connecticuts, the draped bust 1788 Connecticuts, and the club ray Fugios being struck at Machin's mill (or possibly Rupert).

I also believe that the Massachusetts counterfeits 5I, 14J, 1B and 7H are all Machin's products because the date punches are the same as those used on the 87C reverse die and the letter punches appear to be Atlee's. Also the 1B is usually overstruck on the Connecticut 1788 16.3N which was struck at Machin's mill. It is also possible that the counterfeit 1786 Nova Constellatio is a Machin's product, as well as some New Jersey's such as 56n, 57n, 58n, 68w, 69w, 70x, 71y, 72z, 73aa, and 73.5aa.

In any event Machin's enterprise ended with the New York Copper Panic of July 29, 1789 after which and through 1790 coppers were devalued to 1/4 their former value or less.

Thomas Machin was an enterprising business man who took advantage of coining most anything he thought he could make a profit on.

References:

Walter Breen: Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins, 1988.

Sylvester Crosby: The Early Coins of America, 1875.

Wyllis Betts: Counterfeit Halfpence Current in the American Colonies, 1886.

Gary Trudgen: British Halfpence in America: James Atlee's Imitation British Halfpence, 1987.

Eric Newman: A Recently Discovered Coin Solves a Vermont Enigma, 1958.

Robert Vlack: Early American Coins, 1965.

Addendum:

John Lorenzo asked a couple of very interesting questions which I will paraphrase:

Q. Why were so many different kinds of coins done by Atlee and Machin?

A. This was done to obscure what they were doing. Too much of one kind of coin would be more likely to call attention to what they were doing; and many different counterfeits would be more likely to blend in with regular coinage.

Q. What was the precedent for Atlee's doing a bust left 1747 1/2p counterfeit?

A. The answer is partly the same as the first question. And also these coins were made to imitate the bust left George II 1/2p. Atlee also

made other Connecticut coppers with bust left in imitation of the George II 1/2p style.

These questions and answers also led me to more strongly believe that NJ dies of 56n, 57n, 58n, 70x and 71y are most likely Machin's products. When the Connecticut law was passed outlawing counterfeit British 1/2p, Atlee must have decided he could still buy time before his move to Newburgh by taking in all sorts of unwanted, underweight coppers (including many Machins) and legitimizing them by striking over them with a non-outlawed NJ die. The 56n New Jerseys are struck over all sorts of Machins (both Group I and the later Group II), and the 56n die was very long lived. My guess is that Atlee took this die with him when he moved from New Haven to Newburgh, and he continued this practice of overstriking when he moved to Newburgh using the 56n die and then 57n, 58n, 70X and 71y. He thus made a double profit: a profit when he struck underweight 1/2p imitations and a profit when he bought back at a discount all the underweight coppers that were not accepted and overstruck them with passable New Jersey motifs.

Phil Mossman also asked the big question which I had pondered before the talk, and for which I honestly do not have a perfect answer.

Q. How can you consider club ray Fugios Machin's products when these Fugios are of good weight, unlike other Machin's products?

A. The Massachusetts coppers of 5-I and 14-J are definitely Machin's products and are of good weight. So there is some precedent for the Newburgh mint having struck some coppers of good weight. All the concave ray Fugios are usually found on poor planchets similar to those of Machin's 1/2p. But admittedly some of the 3D and 4E club ray Fugios come on nice planchets of good weight. But then so, too, do some of the Massachusetts counterfeits of 5-I and 14-J., even though quite rare. No doubt these Fugios would represent an aberration of the Machin norm. Every opportunist has his "holier than thou" moments.

Congratulations Phil on asking THE question I was kind of hoping wouldn't be asked. But seriously, I'm glad it was asked because it gave me a chance to verbalize my one-liner at the end of my answer. A statement which is as true today as it was then.



Machin Mills Coins: Condition Census, Die States, Discoveries, and Estimated Rarity by Grade

by Richard August and Ed Sarrafian

Condition Census

1-47A	45-25	14-84A	55-25
2-71A	45-20	15-85NY	35-10
3-71B	64-35	9-87NY	20-any
4-71C	30-any	13-87CT	40-any
4-71D	10-any	17-87A	60-45
5-72A	40-25	17-87B	60-45
6-72A	35-25	17-87E	30-any
7-72B	50-25	18-87C	50-30
24-72C	40-20	19-87C	60-50
3-74A	35-20	20-87C	60-15
7-74A	45-25	VT-87C	60-50
8-74A	62-30	21-87C	45-10
4-75A	40-20	21-87D	50-30
6-76A	60-30	23-87C	48-40
9-76B	45-15	13-88CT	45-30
11-78A	60-45	22-88VT	60-45
12-78B	50-30	23-88A	60-40
13-78B	50-30		

Die states

- 1-47A
 - a. early die state obv. with bold legends and full wreath.
 - b. late die state obv. with weaker legends and wreath not struck up.
- 3-71B
 - a. no die breaks on rev.
 - b. cud on rim at 11:00 on rev.
- 6-72A
 - a. rev. die break above and below hand.
 - b. rev. with additional cud from rim to IT.
- 8-74A
 - a. rev. die break from top of BRIT almost to dateline.
 - b. rev. die break bolder from BRIT to dateline.
- 4-75A
 - a. rev. die strike bold.
 - b. rev. die buckled and weak in center.
- 6-76A
 - a. rev. with no die breaks.

- b. rev. with break below stem in branch hand and from elbow to I in NIA.

9-76B

- a. obv. crack from S to wreath.
- b. obv. crack from S to wreath is now a full cud to border.
- c. obv. late die state with additional crack from bridge of nose to bottom left upright of R in Rex and crack from cheek to right upright of R in Rex; also the strike in front of the bust is weak; rev. has weak central strike.

13-78B

- a. early bold strike.
- b. rev. with die buckling causing weak strike of legend.

17-87A

- a. early die state.
- b. rev. late die state with die cracks at 11:00, 4:00 and at rim; central die failure as well.

17-87B

- a. early die state.
- b. obv. GEO, top of III and REX weak; rev. bulge at RIT.

18-87C

- a. early die state.
- b. rev. tops of all letters weak; crack above Britannia's head.

19-87C

- a. early die state.
- b. obv. period after REX becomes a blob; a horizontal dash connects the middle of the right side of V to the middle of the left side of S.
- c. obv. tops of GEORGIUS weak; a horizontal dash connects the middle of the right side of V to the middle of the left side of S; EX and period after EX are all blobby; there is a blob below the bust; rev. date and left legend are barely visible.

21-II-87DII

- a. normal strike with rev. having three vertical parallel lines at 11:00 in front of face and near rim.
- b. rev. late state with the three vertical lines at 11:00 gone and with no date and only AN and NIA faintly visible.

23-88A

- a. early die state.
- b. obv. tops of legend on right are weak; rev. buckling with weak legends and bulge between bow and ribbon ends.

13-88CT

- a. early die state.
- b. obv. die buckling which obscures most of III.

Discoveries

4-71D	Frank Stiemle, 1994
23-87VT	Mike Ringo, ca. 1990 1983
24-72C	Richard August, ca. 1980
17-87E	David Sonderman, 1977
14-84A	Robert Vlack, ca. 1970
4-71C	Richard August, ca. 1964
21-87 VT	Richard August, ca. 1962
1-47A	Robert Vlack, ca. 1962
20-87 VT	Robert Vlack, ca. 1955
19 -8 7C	Robert Vlack, ca. 1954
6-72A	Robert Vlack, ca. 1953
5-72A	Robert Vlack, ca. 1953
17-87B	Robert Vlack, ca. 1950
9-76B	Eric Newman, 1950
2-7 1A	Wylls Betts, 1886
3-7 1B	"
12-78B	"
13-78B	"
16-86A	"
CT- 86A	"
17 -8 7A	"
13-88CT	"
2 3-88A	"
13-87CT	Dickeson, ca. 1860

Rarity Ratings Estimates by Grade

Top row: Standard Rarity Scale
Scale

Bottom Row: New Rarity

(Powers of 2)

8	1-3 specimens	0	1 specimen
7	4-12	1	2
6	13-30	2	3-4
5	31-75	3	5-8
4	76-200	4	9-16
3	201-500	5	17-32

Spring, 1998

2	501-1250	6	33-64
1	over 1250	7	64-128
		8	128-256
		9	256-512
		10	over 512

	G	VG	F	VF	XF
1-47A	5	6	7	7	8
	5	5	4	3	1
2-71A	4	4	6	8	8
	6	6	5	2	0
3-71B	5	6	7	8	8
	5	5	4	2	0
4-71C	7	7	8	8	8
	3	3	2	1	0
4-71D	8	8	8	8	8
	0	0	0	0	0
5-72A	6	6	7	8	8
	5	5	4	2	0
6-72A	6	7	7	8	8
	4	3	3	2	0
7-72B	6	7	7	8	8
	4	4	3	2	1
24-72C	6	7	7	8	8
	3	3	3	2	1
3-74A	5	6	7	8	8
	5	4	3	1	0

7-74A	5 5	6 5	7 4	7 3	8 0
8-74A	5 5	6 5	7 4	7 3	8 0
4-75A	4 6	4 6	6 5	7 4	8 2
6-76A	4 6	4 6	6 5	7 4	8 2
9-76B	7 3	7 3	7 3	8 2	8 0
11-78A	3 7	3 7	4 6	6 4	7 3
12-78B	5 6	5 5	6 5	7 4	8 2
13-78B	5 5	6 5	7 4	7 3	8 2
14-84A	6 5	6 5	6 4	7 3	8 1
15-85NY	7 3	7 3	7 2	8 1	8 1
9-87NY	8 2	8 2	8 1	8 0	8
13-87CT	8 1	8 1	8 0	8 0	8 0
17-87A	3 8	3 7	4 7	6 4	7 3

Spring, 1998

17-87B	3 8	3 7	4 7	6 4	7 3
17-87E	7 2	8 2	8 1	8 0	8 0
18-87C	5 5	5 5	6 4	7 3	8 2
19-87C	3 8	3 7	4 7	6 6	7 3
20-87C	7 3	7 3	8 2	8 2	8 1
VT-87C	1 10	1 9	2 8	4 7	6 5
21-87C	7 3	7 3	8 2	8 1	8 0
21-87D	4 7	4 7	5 5	7 4	8 2
23-87VT	7 3	7 3	8 2	8 1	8 0
13-88CT	4 7	4 7	5 6	7 3	8 2
22-88VT	5 6	5 5	5 5	6 4	7 3
23-88A	3 8	3 8	4 7	6 4	7 3



Account of the Devices on the Continental Bills of Credit

Reprinted from the Writings of Benjamin Franklin

This letter was published in the Pennsylvania Gazette on September 20, 1775. It was written by Benjamin Franklin under the pseudonym of *Clericus*.

To the Printers of the Pennsylvania GAZETTE.

Gentlemen,

No explanation of the Devices on the Continental Bills of Credit having yet appeared, I send you the following Account of them, with my Conjectures on their Meaning.

CLERICUS

An emblematical device, when rightfully formed, is said to consist of two parts, a *body* and a *mind*, neither of which is compleat(sic) or intelligible, without the aid of the other. The figure is called the *body*, the motto the *mind*. These that I am about to consider appear formed on that rule, and seem to relate to the present struggle between the colonies and the tyrant state, for liberty, property, and safety on the one hand, for absolute power and plunder on the other.

On one denomination of the bills there is the figure of a *harp*, with this motto, *Majora minoribus consonant*; literally, *The greater and smaller ones sound together*. As the *harp* is an instrument composed of *great* and *small* strings, included in a *strong frame*, and all so tuned as to agree in concord with each other, I conceive that the *frame* may be intended to represent our new government by a Continental Congress; and the *strings* of different lengths and substance, either the several colonies of different weight and force, or the various ranks of the people in all of them, who are now united by that government in the most perfect *harmony*.

On another bill is impressed, a *wild boar of the forest* rushing on the spear of the hunter; with this motto, *Aut mors, aut vita decora*, which

may be translated - *Death or liberty*. The wild boar is an animal of great strength and courage, armed with long and sharp tusks, which he well knows how to use in his defence(sic). He is inoffensive while suffered to enjoy his freedom, but when roused and wounded by the hunter, often turns and makes him pay dearly for his injustice and temerity.

On another is drawn an *eagle* on the wing, pouncing upon a *crane*, who turns upon his back, and receives the eagle on the point of his long bill, which pierces the eagles breast; with this motto, *Exitus in dubio est*; - *The event is uncertain*. The eagle, I suppose, is Great-Britain, the crane America. This device offers an admonition to each of the contending parties. To the crane, not to depend too much on the success of its *endeavors to avoid* the contest (by petition, negotiation, &c.) but prepare for using the means of defence God and nature hath given it; and to the eagle, not to presume on its superior strength, since a weaker bird may wound it mortally.

Sunt dubii eventus, incertaque praelia mortis:

Vincitur, haud raro, qui prope victor erat.

(Events are in doubt, uncertain is the mortal battle:

the winner, though rarely, is not always who it should be.)

On another bill we have a *thorny bush*, which a *hand* seems attempting to eradicate. The hand appears to bleed, as pricked by the spines. The motto is, *Sustine vel abstine*; which may be rendered, *Bear with me, or let me alone*; or thus, *Either support or leave me*. The bush I suppose to mean *America*, and the bleeding hand *Britain*. Would to God that bleeding were stopt(sic), the wounds of that hand healed, and its future operations directed by wisdom and equity; so shall the hawthorn flourish, and form an hedge around it, annoying with her thorns only its invading enemies.

Another had the figure of a *beaver* gnawing a large tree, with the motto, *Perseverando; By Perseverance*. I apprehend the *great tree* may be intended to represent the enormous power Britain has assumed over us, and endeavors to enforce by arms, of taxing us at pleasure, *and binding us in all cases whatsoever*; or the exorbitant

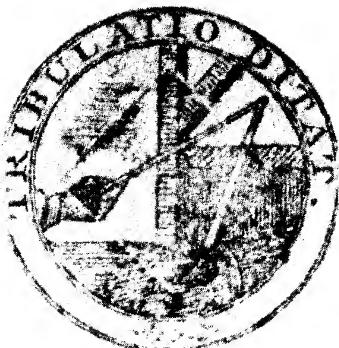
profits she makes by monopolizing our commerce. Then the *beaver*, which is known to be able, by assiduous and steady working, to fell large trees, may signify *America*, which, by perseverance in her present measures, will probably reduce that power within proper bounds, and, by establishing the most necessary manufactures among ourselves, abolish the British monopoly.

On another bill we have the plant *acanthus*, sprouting on all sides under a weight placed upon it, with the motto, *Depressa resurgit; Tho' oppressed it rises*. The ancient tell us, that the sight of such an accidental circumstance gave the first hint to an architect, in forming the beautiful capital of the Corinthian Column. This, perhaps, was intended to encourage us, by representing, that our present oppressions will not destroy us, but that they may, by increasing our industry, and forcing it into new courses, increase the prosperity of our country, and establish that prosperity on the *base* of liberty, and the well-proportioned *pillar* of property, elevated for a pleasing spectacle to all *connoisseurs*, who can *taste* and delight in the architecture of human happiness.

The figure of a *hand and flail* over *sheaves of wheat*, with the motto, *Tribulatio ditat, Threshing improves it* (which we find printed on another of the bills) may perhaps be intended to admonish us, that tho' at present we are under the *flail*, it blows, how hard soever, will be rather advantageous than hurtful to us: for they will bring forth every *grain* of genius and merit in arts, manufactures, war and council, that are now concealed in the husk, and then the breath of a breeze will be sufficient to separate from us all the chaff of Toryism. *Tribulation* too, in our English sense of the word, improves the mind, it makes us humbler, and tends to make us wiser. And *threshing*, in one of its senses, that of beating, often improves those that are threshed. Many an unwarlike nation have been beaten into heroes by troublesome warlike neighbours; and the continuance of a war, tho' it lessen the number of people, often increases its strength, by the increased discipline and consequent courage of the number remaining. Thus England, after her civil war, in which her people threshed one another, became more formidable to her neighbours. The public distress too that arises from war, by increasing frugality

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and industry, often gives habits that remain after the distress is over, and thereby *enriches* those on whom it has enforced those *enriching virtues*.

Another of the bills has for its device, a *storm* descending from a *black heavy cloud*, with the motto, *Serenabit; It will clear up*. This seems designed to encourage the dejected, who may be too sensible of present inconveniences, and fear their continuance. It reminds them, agreeable to the adage, that *after a storm comes a calm*; or as Horace more elegantly has it-

Informes hyemes reducit, Jupiter: idem summovet.

Non si male nunc, et olim

Sic erit.- Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo.

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(This one is too tough for me. Any latin scholar out there care to translate?)

On another bill there is stamped the representation of a *tempestuous sea*; a face, with swollen cheeks, wrapt up in a black cloud, appearing to blow violently on the waters, *the waves high*, and *all rolling one way*: The motto *Vi concitatae*; which may be rendered, raised by force. From the remotest antiquity, in figurative language, great waters have signified *the people*, and waves an insurrection. The people of themselves are supposed as naturally inclined to be still, as the waters to remain level and quiet. Their rising here appears not to be from an internal cause, but from an external power, expressed by the head of *Aeolus*, God of the winds (or *Boreas*, the *North* wind, as usually the most violent) acting furiously upon them. The black cloud perhaps designs the British Parliament, and the waves the colonies. Their rolling all in one direction shews(sic), that the very force used against them has produced their unanimity. On the reverse of this bill, we have a smooth sea; the sails of ships on that sea hanging loose shew(sic) a perfect calm; the sun shining fully denotes a clear sky. The motto is, *Cessante vento, conquiescemos*; *The wind ceasing, we shall be quiet*. Supposing my explanation of the preceding device to be right, this will probably import, that when those violent acts of power, which have roused the colonies, are repealed, they will return to their former tranquility(sic). Britain seems thus charged with being the sole cause of the present civil war, at the same time that the only mode of putting an end to it is thus pointed out to her

The last is a *wreath of laurel* on a *marble monument*, or *altar*. The motto, *Si recte facies; If you act rightly*. This seems intended as an encouragement to a brave and steady conduct in defence(sic) of our liberties, as it promises to crown with honour, by the laurel wreath, those who persevere to the end in *well-doing*; and with a long duration of that honour, expressed by the *monument of marble*.

A learned friend of mine thinks this device more particularly addressed to the Congress. He says the ancients composed for their

heroes a wreath of laurel, oak and olive twigs, interwoven; agreeable to the distich,

E lauro, quercu, atque olea, duce digna corona.
Prudentem, fortem, pacificumque decet.

Of *laurel*, as that tree was dedicated to *Apollo*, and understood to signify *knowledge and prudence*; of *oak*, as pertaining to *Jupiter*, and expressing *fortitude*; of *olive*, as the tree of *Pallas*, and as a symbol of *peace*. The whole to show, that those who are intrusted(sic) to conduct the great affairs of mankind should act prudently and firmly, retaining, above all, a pacific disposition. This wreath was first placed on an *altar*, to admonish the hero who was to be crowned with it, that true glory is founded on and proceeds from *piety*. My friend therefore thinks, the present device might intend a wreath of that composite kind, though, from the smallness of the work, the engraver could not mark distinctly the different leaves: And he is rather confirmed in his opinion that this is designed as an admonition to the Congress, when he considers the passage in *Horace* from whence the motto is taken, - *Rex eris, aiunt.*

Si recte facies.

To which also Ausonius alludes,

Qui recte faciet, non qui dominatur, erit Rex.

Not the King's Parliament, who act wrong, but the People's Congress, *if it acts right*, shall govern America.



Was the New Jersey Reverse u Made at Morristown?

By Michael Hodder

John Lorenzo's comments in his NJ Condition Census notes in the last C4, about the origin of the New Jersey reverse u die, got me to thinking, so I took a quick look at my NJ coppers database listings to see what I could come up with. Here are some statistics about the reverse u combinations that can get a discussion started.

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NJ 64-u	Weight range	130 to 170 grains
N = 16	Diameter range	29.5 to 31.0mm
	Reverse axis range	195° to 210°
 NJ 65-u	Weight range	113 to 188 grains
N = 40	Diameter range	27.4 to 30.0 mm
	Reverse axis range	180° to 210° and 0° to 20°
 NJ 66-u	Weight range	108 to 150 grains
N = 4	Diameter range	28.0 to 29.5 mm
	Reverse axis range	340° to 345°

These figures show that Maris 64-u seems to come on big size flans of fairly decent weight and closely controlled reverse die orientations. Mans 65-u, on the other hand, comes on flans that are smaller and lighter than 64-u. In addition, there are two different die setups visible on 65-u, coin and medal turn, another distinction not shared by 64-u. Unfortunately, there is no obvious correlation among die orientations, weights, or diameters. All one can safely say about 65-u's die orientation is that it is unusual in the u family. Finally, the weight, diameter, and even axis ranges of Maris 66-u, a rare variety, resemble 65-u's more than they do 64-u's, but with only four specimens seen any conclusions about 66-u must be tentative, at best.

So, the technical parameters of the u family of dies can't tell us a whole lot about them, except to suggest that 65-u and 66-u are more similar to each other than they are to 64-u, and that of the three combinations, only 64-u has the characteristics of a coinage whose manufacture was carefully controlled.

Incidentally, if you look at off-center u family strikes and measure the arc of the circle left behind by the outline of the reverse u die, you'll find that u was about 28.0 mm in diameter.

Can the style of the dies help us in deciding where u was made? If you take a look at reverse u in the Maris book, you'll see that it looks like a reasonably wide shield type. In fact, it's more like reverse C, E, and even M, than it is any of the Morristown dies that usually have narrower shields with sprigs underneath them. As far as

obverses 64, 65, and 66 go, they look similar in some respects but not in others. To my eyes, there's nothing about the way they were laid out and engraved that says only one man made them.

Now, if we compare what we know about reverse u with what we've known for a while about the typical Morristown Mint coin (good weight, broad flan, rich color, narrow shield, finely engraved horse's head), we have to say that none of the reverse u combinations resemble a Morristown Mint product so much that we have to attribute it to Walter Mould's operation. Maris 64-u shares some characteristics with the large planchet Morristown coins, and occasionally one finds a 65-u on a large flan, too. But in general terms, reverse u doesn't look like a Morristown die, at all, even though it used to be attributed to there.

The evidence of Dennis Wierzba's wonderful 65-u overstruck on a 1721 George I halfpenny is extremely suggestive of the origin of at least some, and maybe all, of the reverse u combinations. From a technical point of view, Dennis' coin is a typical 65-u, weighing about 20 grains below statutory weight, about middle sized, and with a perfect reverse coin turn. It also happens to be in an intermediate state of the reverse die, putting it about in the middle of the die sequence for the u family. What's entirely atypical about the coin, of course, is that it was overstruck on another copper. Such overstriking is typical of the end of the New Jersey coinage, when varieties like 56-n were being made. It is very atypical, in fact unheralded, for the 1787 to middle 1788 period of the Morristown Mint's operation.

We know from the obverse die states that 64-u and 64-t were contemporaries of each other. We also know that 64-t comes on large and small planchets in all states of the obverse die. There was mixing of planchet stock when 64-t was being struck, the coiners having big and small flans available for use at about the same time. Maris 64-u generally comes on bigger planchets than usually seen on Rahway Mint products. Like 64-u, 64-t was also a pretty well made variety, in terms of its average weight. Most of 65-u and 66-u were struck after 64-u (and, therefore, 64-t). Some 65-u's are also known on big flans, but 66-u's are smaller than 64-u's are.

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What does all this mean? To me, it's very tempting to see a progression over time, here. First, we have 64-t and 64-u being made in a mint that has access to big and small planchets. Then, the coiners switch to 65-u and 66-u, make about half of them (with some 65-u's on big flans), then overstrike at least one 65-u on an old George I copper, and later finish up with the rest of the 65-u's and 66-u's that will be struck. From research I did years ago, we know that in January, 1788, thousands of small size planchets made at the Rahway Mint were sent to Walter Mould at Morristown, along with copper ingots suitable for making more. When Matthias Ogden gained control of the Rahway Mint one month later, the ingots were returned but not the planchets. Could it be that the small planchet 64-t's were struck by Mould using the Rahway planchets that had been sent to him and that he had kept? Personally, I think that's what happened.

There's something even more interesting in this story, too. I said that reverse u didn't look much like a Morristown Mint die to me. I can say the same thing about the obverses it's married to, 64, 65, and 66. I can go further, and say that reverse t doesn't resemble a Morristown Mint die, either. Could some dies have been sent to Mould in Morristown early in 1788, as well as planchets? There's no written evidence from the time to prove this, like there is for the planchets. But the die emission sequences for the obverse 64 and reverse u families, along with the varying planchet sizes used on 64-t, 64-u, and 65-u, all lead me to think that dies were also shared between Rahway and Morristown.

We shouldn't forget that when Goadsby was afraid he'd lose his coining business to Cox's creditors, he sent the whole kit and kaboodle, including the coining press and planchets, to Mould in Morristown for safe keeping. Since dies were valuable, labor intensive tools to make, I assume Goadsby would have wanted them as well protected as the press (that later on wound up in the Philadelphia Mint). We've been too accustomed to thinking that the break up of the old Goadsby-Cox-Mould partnership in 1786 meant that the three never did business together, again. Such is clearly not the case.

If I'm right in assuming that dies were also sent to Mould for safekeeping, then they would also have been returned to Ogden. Can we figure out which dies were sent to Mould in January, 1788, and do we know if they were returned right away? I would suggest that we already know which ones they were, namely, obverses 64, 65, and 66, along with reverses t and u. This could account for the 64-t's, 64-u's, and 65-u's known on small and large flans, since they were struck at Morristown using both Rahway and Morristown planchet stock. Were these dies returned right away, in February? I don't think they were. When Mould finally returned the dies, probably before he left New Jersey for Ohio in the summer of 1788, they were kept by Ogden at Rahway pending further use. M.65-u wasn't put into service again until sometime after Ogden had started having trouble finding planchet stock to coin with. This was probably after the summer of 1788. It was at this time that Dennis Wierzba's 65-u was overstruck on the 1721 George I halfpenny. At that point, 65 and 66 were married indiscriminately to reverse u, and the rest of the u family was coined.

I don't think we can date Dennis' 65-u any better than to say it was probably made at some time from the summer of 1788 to just before high summer of 1790. This is the time period I have called "Late Rahway" and "Elizabethtown", meaning the New Jersey mint under the control of Matthias Ogden, legally coining New Jersey coppers on whatever stock and with whatever dies were available. The physical location of Ogden's mint changed, from Rahway (summer 1788 to summer 1789) to Elizabethtown (summer 1789 to summer 1790), but the authority under which he struck coins was the same and the laborers he used were probably the same men, too. Dennis' coin, besides being unique in the u family, is a mute witness to the times in which it was made.



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Swansea Shipbuilding: a Possible Bungtown Connection

by Russell Easterbrooks

North Swansea Massachusetts, also known as Barneyville and Bungtown, has in recent years been the focus of numismatic interest. Eric Newman's research published in 1976, "Studies on Money in Early America", spot-lighted this community as a possible source of counterfeit English halfpence often referred to as "Bungtown Coppers".

The diverse early history surrounding the town of Swansea displays the characteristics of a flourishing ship building town. Between 1694 and 1860 numerous Swansea shipyards provided economic stability for the wide range of artisans essential to the production of ocean going vessels. During the late 1700's, three shipyards were operating in Swansea, the most interesting of these was the Barney shipyard established along the Palmer River. Jonathan Barney a cooper and shipwright, began constructing barrels and small fishing vessels at this location in North Swansea. The vast assortment of barrels, kegs, spigots, and bungs made by Barney and his laborers outweighed his ship construction, and earned this area of town the name Bungtown..

Moving to New York to continue his coopers trade, Jonathan left his son Mason Barney in charge of the shipyard. The date in which Mason took over his father's business is uncertain, but appears to be about 1787-90. Mason's head for business subsequently developed the shipyard and brought overwhelming prosperity to this area, employing up-wards of 250 craftsman. Constructing 149 ships in 55 years, Barney's shipyard supplied ships that sailed to nearly every part of the navigable globe. Mason was respected and admired even in neighboring Rhode Island where most of his ships were sent for rigging from bow to stern. Mason owned two stores near the shipyard and was postmaster and banker where he annually disbursed large sums of money. The Swansea Tercentenary publication (1976) states in part that Mason Barney; "at one time even minted his own coins known as Bungtown coppers".

In a letter from Swansea historian, Helen Pierce, she indicates the name Bungtown, preceded the name Barneyville signifying this part of North Swansea. Interviews with Barneyville residents, described their relatives working at the shipyard and receiving "Bungtown coppers" that were made there. One interview in particular stated that; "the shipyard crew in the midst of their daily labors were given a rum break. Those who did not partake of the rum were given Bungtown coins to use at the store." No-one could describe the design on these Bungtown coins how ever, the terms " stamped like a button" and "a large copper" were used.

If Mason Barney did manufacture copper coins it wasn't until 1810-20, and these coppers would surely have been tokens, to be used within the community as a convenience. The "Bungtown copper" term is believed to have been used by merchants, as well as much of the populace in regards to counterfeit or unfamiliar coppers circulating during the late 1700's.

The before mentioned Newman research lists the "Providence Gazette and Country Journal" of April 17, 1784 stating; "within a fortnight past, considerable quantities of counterfeit British halfpence have been brought here, and many of them passed in small sums. They are of base metal, badly executed and of course easily detected-we are desired to mention that they are openly manufactured in a neighboring town in the state of Massachusetts." Newman goes on to site from a different source evidence pointing to the Swansea-Rehoboth area as the possible location of the counterfeit coins: "On February 7, 1786, Benjamin Eastabrooks a laborer of Rehoboth, was caught passing "mixed metal" counterfeit British halfpence in Boston and was convicted."

Rehoboth, a neighboring town to Swansea, had a notorious counterfeiting background. Between 1716 and 1723 what was considered the largest paper money counterfeiting operation in America was in full swing. In 1755 Constant Barney Jr. of Rehoboth was caught passing counterfeit bills, and in 1785 Jonathan Drown, also of Rehoboth was an admitted counterfeiter of Spanish dollars.

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Genealogical research indicates Constant Barney Sr. moved to the Swansea-Rehoboth area from Salem Mass. in 1690. Constant Barney Jr. of Rehoboth appears to have been Jonathan Barney's father. Given the family history of passing counterfeit bills, and the later possible coining operations, this would leave Jonathan Barney as a possible source for counterfeiting knowledge during the 1780's. Little is known about Jonathan after he moved to New York. It could be he needed to keep his where-abouts a mystery.

It is also important to note that copper banding was widely used in the ship building industry as well as, by coopers making small powder kegs. With this in mind it is worth noting that the Lee shipyard also located in Swansea, was constructing much larger ships than the early Barney shipyard. Brigantines of 50-tons and sloops of 80-tons were being produced by the Lee shipyard as early as 1760. It would be reasonable to assume that copper smiths were well established in Swansea laboring at the many shipyards.

As I continue my genealogical research of my family ties to this area, I hope to uncover clues that will answers numismatist's questions concerning Swansea's role in the counterfeiting of copper coins.



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